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Abstract: The sacrosanct painting atelier of Kan'eiji was headed throughout the Edo period by successive generations of the holder of the name Kanda Sōtei. Despite its special mandate, it has remained largely disregarded to this day, partly due to its alleged artistic conservatism and the limited number of recognized works. Given that the atelier was affiliated with Kan'eiji, the most powerful Tendai temple during the Edo period and one of the primary temples of the Tokugawa shogunate, a consideration of the religious, and most certainly political, implications behind its establishment is urgently needed. There is evidence that the scope of production and sphere of influence of the Kanda Sōtei lineage by far exceeded what has been previously assumed. Based on newly discovered materials, this article discusses the lineage's conservatism and classicism in relation to the deification strategy of the Tokugawa shogunate, their consolidation of power based on the introduction of a new school of Shinto and the new deity Tōshō Daigongen, and its influence on the religious visual culture of the Edo period following the financial distress of the regime during the late seventeenth century.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.47.2.2020.305-340>

Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich

ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-194732>

Journal Article

Published Version

Originally published at:

Steineck, Tomoë I M (2020). Kanda Sōtei: The Shogun's Sacred Painters and their Realm of Influence. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 47(2):305-340.

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Kanda Sōtei

The Shogun's Sacred Painters and their Realm of Influence

The sacrosanct painting atelier of Kan'ei-ji was headed throughout the Edo period by successive generations of the holder of the name Kanda Sōtei. Despite its special mandate, it has remained largely disregarded to this day, partly due to its alleged artistic conservatism and the limited number of recognized works. Given that the atelier was affiliated with Kan'ei-ji, the most powerful Tendai temple during the Edo period and one of the primary temples of the Tokugawa shogunate, a consideration of the religious, and most certainly political, implications behind its establishment is urgently needed. There is evidence that the scope of production and sphere of influence of the Kanda Sōtei lineage by far exceeded what has been previously assumed. Based on newly discovered materials, this article discusses the lineage's conservatism and classicism in relation to the deification strategy of the Tokugawa shogunate, their consolidation of power based on the introduction of a new school of Shinto and the new deity Tōshō Daigongen, and its influence on the religious visual culture of the Edo period following the financial distress of the regime during the late seventeenth century.

KEYWORDS: iconology—visual culture—cultural memory—deification—Tendai—painting

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THE SACROSANCT painting atelier of Kan'eiji 寛永寺, one of the foremost temples in Edo, was headed by successive generations of the holder of the name Kanda Sōtei 神田宗庭 throughout the Edo period. Despite being a purveyor to the court of the Tokugawa shogunate for centuries, it has remained largely disregarded to this day, partly due to its alleged artistic conservatism and the limited number of recognized works. The assessment of the Kanda artists as producers of religious material is customarily constrained by the art historical—although mainly aesthetic—judgment that as painters they were uninventive. This evaluation goes back as far as the *Koga bikō* (ASAOKA and ŌTA 1905), a biographical dictionary of artists first published around 1850 by a member of the Kanō 狩野 lineage.

Until recently there has been little scholarship concerning the Kanda artists' interaction with other painters, clientele outside of the government, or Edo society in general. Although some scholars have connected Kanda with the political significance of their art, such studies have largely been limited to the deification of Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616), the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, into the deity Tōshō Daigongen 東照大権現 ("Great avatar shining over the east"). Research on Kanda Sōtei provides (1) a brief historical account of their activity in relation to government orders during the Edo period (FUJIMOTO 2013; NAKAGAWA 2002; ŌNISHI 1975); (2) an evaluation of their artistic characteristics (KAWAI 2012; ITŌ 2012a; 2012b); and (3) their definitive role as proprietors of exclusive doctrinal knowledge (CHIDA 1994; NAKAGAWA 2002, 88; SAITŌ 2008). Most of the scholarship on Kanda and their works, which ascribes them a cultural value, approach the group from a sociological, religious, and politico-historical perspective with a sole focus on the early stage of their career and their paintings produced in conjunction with the deification of Ieyasu.

The atelier's role in this process, quite independent of aesthetic evaluations, implied a privileged status for the artists, particularly given the fact that they were effectively founded as providers of the visual indoctrination envisaged by the ruling elite. Although the assessment of linking Kanda Sōtei to the deification acknowledges the importance of the atelier as a political agent, a broader scope is needed to assess their position within the visual culture of Japan.

* The author would like to express her gratitude to the Department of Japanese Studies at the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies of the University of Zurich for supporting this research as well as Satō Hiroo, Klaus Antoni, Bernhard Scheid, Raji C. Steineck, and Rosina Buckland for comments on drafts of this article.

Aforementioned aesthetic evaluations have prevented a comprehensive hermeneutic examination. The issue of why an atelier established with great effort was limited to a single, outdated classical style should be addressed. The Kanda's long history of almost three centuries raises the additional question of whether this "uninventive" atelier was indeed confined to its exclusive patrons and limited function of the period, and if not, what kind of influence they exerted on their audience.

The origin of the Kanda atelier is traceable to their affiliation with the Tendai abbot and court advisor Tenkai 天海 (1536–1643), who ordered their resettlement from Kansai to Edo and established them as shogunal painters. Their eminent position was symbolized by the hereditary privilege Tenkai bestowed upon them to produce icons of the "hidden teachings" (*jinpi* 深秘), which he granted to the Kanda and the Kimura 木村 ateliers. Tenkai introduced doctrines from Tendai and, especially, the teachings of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō 山王一実神道 (hereafter Ichijitsu Shinto) to enable the deification of Ieyasu, which subsequently lead to the development of new ritual "tools" (SUGAWARA 1992, 220–224). The development of a new icon, its iconography, and the iconological strategy implemented for this purpose was crucial for the status of Kanda Sōtei. This status enabled them to assume a genuinely significant role as distributors of regulated icons and classicist style, or more precisely, as agents of visuality in the process of legitimizing the Tokugawa as rulers.¹

The atelier was affiliated with and an integral part of Kan'ei-ji, which was not only the most powerful Tendai Buddhist temple during the Edo period but also one of the two primary temples of the shogunate along with San'enzan Zōjōji 三縁山増上寺. Therefore, in addition to a reevaluation of Kanda Sōtei's work, this article examines the possibility of their continuous influence on Edo society and its religious images, thus triggering widespread accommodation to a pictorial mode that emerged from a strictly orchestrated agenda. The discovery of a collection of *hakubyō zuzō* 白描図像 (line-drawn iconographic images) bearing the seal of the Kanda, which contains remarkable models for popular amulets and icons as well as preliminary studies of Tōshō Daigongen and portraits of spiritual leaders suggest that it was, in fact, widespread. These images testify to the wide range of activity of the atelier and shed light on the painters' dual character as providers for a fixed iconological tradition set in motion by Tenkai and as producers of publicly accessible religious imagery. As I demonstrate in this article, there is evidence that the scope of production and sphere of influence of the Kanda Sōtei lineage by far exceeded what has been previously assumed.

1. Classicism is applied here as a term to describe an artistic choice in terms of sacral art, which favors the visual expression from the eleventh to the fourteenth century.

Ichijitsu Shinto: Adjusting the Doctrine for a New Deity

The Tendai chief sangha prefect (*daisōjō* 大僧正) Tenkai served three generations of Tokugawa rulers and supported the consolidation of Tokugawa rule at its outset. It was Tenkai who provided the doctrinal background for the deification of Tokugawa Ieyasu as the deity Tōshō Daigongen. The conceptual origin of posthumous deification can be traced back to early medieval beliefs concerning *onryō* 怨霊 (vengeful spirits). In the Edo period, however, deification became more widespread, encompassing persons of rank or special virtue, and it no longer necessarily involved the element of placating a powerful figure who had been wronged in its lifetime, perpetuating its wrath beyond the grave.² The deification of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598) as Toyokuni Daimyōjin 豊国大明神 under the doctrinal guidance of Yoshida 吉田 Shinto, and the deification of Ieyasu as Tōshō Daigongen are well-known examples of this phenomenon.³ However, in the case of Ieyasu, Tenkai's strategy entailed significantly more than traditional Tendai doctrine. It comprised the creation of a new Shinto specifically tailored to support Tokugawa rule, the Ichijitsu Shinto.

The first mention of the term “Ichijitsu Shinto” came from Tenkai himself in the *Tōshō Daigongen engi*, an account of Tōshō Daigongen dating from the early Edo period (SUGAWARA 1994, 10). The term “Sannō Shinto” already existed to describe traditional Tendai Shinto closely connected to Mt. Hiei 比叡 and the *Lotus Sūtra*. The differentiation of Sannō Shinto and Ichijitsu Shinto has been a much-discussed issue, yet the validation of the latter as a new religious framework can be found, among other sources, in the works of Jōin 乗因 (1682–1739), such as the *Tenrin jōōshō naiden*.⁴ Jōin, a Tendai monk who was first ordained at Kan'ei and subsequently trained on Mt. Hiei, is one of the central figures regarding the historical evidence of Ichijitsu Shinto, which he later developed further in his capacity as a scholarly trained monk.⁵

2. The deification cases of the Edo period are complex, involving Confucianism and politics, as well as the circumstances mentioned above (SATŌ 2012; ŌKAWA 2017; MIYATA 1970).

3. Yoshida Shinto, or Yuiitsu Shintō 唯一神道, was a prominent branch of Shinto founded during the Sengoku 戦国 period by Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱 (1435–1511) in an effort to organize the various traditions of Shinto and establish its position against the supremacy of Buddhist influence. By the Edo period it was the predominant branch of Shinto.

4. In his discussion of the *Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō hiroku* 山王一実神道秘録, Mizukami Fumiyoshi suggests that this later interpretation by Jikū 慈空 (1715–1798) should be understood as a retroactive adjustment. This again strengthens the theory that Tenkai was the initiator of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto (MIZUKAMI 2017, 294).

5. This new form, which he called Reisō 靈宗 Shinto, was one of a series of new Buddhist developments of Shinto during the Edo period, but its strong features of Daoism triggered disputes that eventually led to his exile on the island of Miyake.

Sugawara Shinkai lists three key aspects that distinguish the Ichijitsu Shinto from its predecessor. First, it emphasizes this-worldly stability (*genze annon* 現世安穩) and family prosperity (*kamon hanjō* 家紋繁昌), as well as this-worldly benefits (*genze riyaku* 現世利益), especially relating to the Tokugawa clan. The second characteristic is the fusion of worldly and religious sovereignty as a prerequisite for and promise of the peaceful prosperity of the realm (*tenka taihei banmin hōraku* 天下泰平万民豊樂). Last but not least, it founds its doctrine on the centrality of the Sannō Gongen 山王権現 as the superior shrine within the realm (SUGAWARA 1992, 210–211). Tenkai explicitly based this core idea on the all-encompassing single vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Hokke ichijō* 法華一乘) (SUGAWARA 1994, 10). He argued that all kami derived from Sannō Ichijitsu, thus subordinating other Shinto schools. There is also a shift in the *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 paradigm, as the identity of the original Buddhist figure (*honji*) changes from the traditional Shaka Nyorai 釈迦如来 to Yakushi Nyorai 薬師如来 in conjunction with his eastern pure land, referring to the geographical seat of Tokugawa rule in the east. In short, Ieyasu's position as the avatar of Yakushi Nyorai was further enhanced through the *Hokke ichijō* paradigm that all *nyorai*, specifically Shaka, Yakushi, and Dainichi 大日, are one. Consequently, Ieyasu (qua Yakushi) equals Dainichi Nyorai, and on the level of avatars was gradually equated with Amaterasu.⁶ Thus, the principle of divine rule over the entire country was set in motion for the Tokugawa, equipped with a direct connection to imperial mythology: the creation of a new deity based on old credentials was complete.

The Development of a New Icon: The Tōshō Daigongen

Ieyasu's testament included in the *Tōgenki* and the *Tenrin jōōshō naiden* specify that he had been initiated into the teachings of Ichijitsu Shinto, which destined him to exert protective power as a deified ruler after his death (*Tōgenki*, 30; SUGAWARA 1992, 199). Sources such as the *Gojikki*, the chronicles of the Tokugawa clan commonly known as *Tokugawa jikki*, further corroborate Ieyasu's initiation into Tenkai's teachings:

Next, the grand ruler received the transmission of the dharma (*kechimyaku sōjō* 血脉相承) of Tendai in the private inner compound from the monk Nan-kōbō Tenkai. (Gojikki, 640)

Two historical sources are of special interest to verify the involvement of Ieyasu himself. The first is an excerpt from the *Meiryō kōhan* about a heated dispute between Tenkai and the court advisor and Rinzaï monk Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝 (1569–1633) concerning the funeral of Ieyasu and several paragraphs of the

6. Sugawara cites a source dated to around 1648, stating that it recognizes that Daigongen was enshrined for the same traits as Amaterasu (SUGAWARA 1992, 218).

Jiin shohatto 寺院諸法度.⁷ The dispute erupted after Tenkai sharply criticized the Yoshida Shinto obsequies for Ieyasu initiated by Sūden as inappropriate in light of the will of the ruler, which required obsequies of Ichijitsu Shinto (SUGAWARA 1992, 200). The development of Ichijitsu Shinto, whether Ieyasu was initiated, and how it determined its autonomy vis-à-vis the earlier Sanno Shinto has been the subject of many historical discourses. A vivid overview is presented in the introduction to Sonehara's publication on the deification of Ieyasu (SONEHARA 1996, 2–10).

Independent of the religious or sociopolitical discourse, the extent of Tenkai's authority is a seminal factor in understanding the position of the Kanda as an agent under his direction. The subject of the second historical source is an excerpt from the Edo-period *Shinzanshū* that involves the deification title of Ieyasu and serves to illustrate this position.⁸ While Sūden and other representatives of Yoshida Shinto strongly argued for the title *myōjin* 明神, Tenkai instead argued for the title *gongen* 権現, famously inquiring “whether the destiny for Toyokuni Daimyōjin [the deified Hideyoshi] and his clan could be called fortunate” (SUEKI 2010, 47; SUGAWARA 1992, 212).

The animosity between Tenkai and Sūden, extending far beyond the deification process, also affected their opposing forms of Shinto as well as the race for the dominant position at court, which crystallized in the aforementioned *Jiin shohatto* regime to restrict clerical power. The second set of orders against Tendai institutions in the Kanto region reveals Tenkai's influence, first in avoiding the abolition of existing establishments, and second in strengthening the authoritarian structure of Kanto Tendai under his control. Tenkai's conduct, therefore, must be viewed against the background of the entire Tokugawa strategy of restricting clerical power while establishing their own religious legitimacy.

Tenkai's plan for the latter was fulfilled to an extent by Ieyasu's acceptance of and initiation into Ichijitsu Shinto, yet official recognition by the next generation of the ruling elite after Ieyasu's death was central to its completion. This step was required to attain universal recognition of his control over the rites of the new deity, including the religious centers. The historical validity of Ieyasu's initiation into Ichijitsu Shinto is important for the evaluation of Tenkai's position in history and the subsequent process of legitimization and sparked a

7. The *Meiryō kōhan* is a forty-volume collection of anecdotes about the first five Tokugawa shoguns and their vassals. The *Jiin shohatto* is an umbrella term for edicts from the shogunate that restricted the scope of influence of the Buddhist schools. With several such edicts, Sūden sought to establish the shogunate's authority over religious and feudal powers. Historically, he is, therefore, often perceived as the most powerful advisor of the shogunate.

8. The *Shinzanshū* is a forty-nine volume collection of Confucian teachings and contemporary matters compiled by Tani Shinzan 谷 泰山 (1663–1718), an Edo-period Confucianist and student of Yamasaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1619–1682). It was unpublished until Tani's descendant, Tani Tateki 谷 干城 (1837–1911), published it during the Meiji period.

lively debate between historians (OOMS 1985, 174). Some have argued that the circumstances of the purported initiations around 1614 were unrealistic for rites that, apparently, demand perseverance and dedication (SUGAWARA 1994, 8). In contrast, Sugawara points to the spiritual necessity of rites, especially in times of conflict, and explains the true nature of such rites as concise, something that is reflected in the above quote from the *Gojikki*. It clearly highlights that the initiation was a matter that could be situated between various other tasks. Sugawara's argument is conclusive as he based his considerations on the reality of religious rites, which renders the initialization of Ieyasu feasible, and on the long-term planning of the establishment of the new Shinto, including the creation of a new deity. Both stood under the authority of Tenkai and occurred with the explicit consent of Ieyasu, thus connecting Kanda Sôtei to the highest level of authority.

The Visual Material Surrounding the Deification of Ieyasu

Ieyasu had relocated Tenkai to Kanto and appointed him as abbot of the Tendai temple Muryôjuji Kitain 無量寿寺北院, which was renamed Tōeizan Kitain 東叡山喜多院 in 1612.⁹ Upon Ieyasu's death in 1616, Tenkai immediately began the deification process while he was closely involved in the construction of the two mausoleum-shrines at Kunōzan 久能山 and Nikkō 日光.¹⁰ His control was *res judicata* after he had settled the disputes surrounding the obsequies and the deification title to his advantage. The founding of Kan'ei in 1625 was also the fruit of Tenkai's lobbying; its *sangō* 山号 (mountain name) Tōeizan, corresponding to the recently renamed Kitain, further highlighted the recreation of the old splendor of Hiei Tendai as the spiritual protector of the imperial court in the east. By obtaining the honorary title Tōeizan for his temple, Tenkai was announcing his intent to compete with the imperial capital and its holy mountain Hiei. Kan'ei was intended for exponential growth from its beginning as the new national center of Tendai, the first temple to surpass the authority of Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei in the history of Japanese Tendai. Tenkai's position in the latter half of the 1620s solidified his status as the highest-ranking Tendai abbot and the official recognition that he was the leading ritual cleric of Tōshō Daigongen as well as the initiator of its doctrinal legitimization. It gave him full control over the deity's two main shrines, which simultaneously were the shogunal mausolea.

9. The name of the temple was changed in anticipation of the Kanto Tendai Hatto 関東天台法度 of 1613/1614, which appointed the Kitain as the principal Tendai temple in Kanto (TAMAMURO 1971, 34–38).

10. Kunōzan is the oldest of the shogunal burial temples of the Tokugawa, which was immediately constructed upon the passing of Ieyasu in 1616, enshrining him as the principal kami. Together with Nikkō, the two Tōshōgū mausolea represent the principal temples for the defied Tokugawa Ieyasu and the main burial sites of the house of Tokugawa. Both loci were historically important places, either as a spiritual place or as a strategic position in warfare.

SUEKI Fumihiko (2010, 43–45) rightfully puts Tenkai above Sūden as the most influential cleric of the early Edo period. Tenkai defined the religious scheme within which such a discourse took place and intentionally chose such terms as an exercise of his power.

Given the quickly rising demand for skilled producers of sacral objects and adornments for the new facilities, it is unsurprising that Tenkai sought opportunities to acquire new artists in this period. Chronologically, the first atelier of sacrosanct rank was that of Kimura Ryōtaku 木村了琢, as historical sources connect them to Tenkai somewhat earlier than the Kanda. Similar to the Kanda lineage, the Kimura artists inherited the name Ryōtaku every generation. A *Yakushi jūni shinshō* 薬師十二神将 painting with a box inscription including the date 1617 and the name of Tenkai is the earliest confirmed work by Kimura Ryōtaku (NAKAGAWA 2002, 88). Information from this earliest time is sparse, but a letter by Tenkai requesting that Kajūji Tsunehiro 勧修寺経広 (1606–1688) bestow the Buddhist title of *hokkyō* 法橋 on Ryōtaku IV in 1635 serves as a testimony to his patronage. Tenkai also requested an upgrade of rank for Kanō Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602–1674), possibly between 1641 and 1643, which points to the Kanō sharing the same patron (ŌNISHI 1975, 160; NAKAGAWA 2002, 90). The Kanō painters had been assigned on a grand scale to the adornment of the Nikkō Tōshōgū as part of the major building rush between 1634 and 1636 that was ordered by Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–1651).

The payroll for the artists of the Kimura atelier, who likewise worked at Nikkō, described their assignment to the secret polychrome paintings (*on himitsu on saishiki e* 御秘密御彩色絵) within the innermost sanctuary (*on nainaijin* 御内々陣) (ŌNISHI 1975, 167–168). Both ateliers working in Nikkō were, thus, affiliated with Tenkai, yet a clear separation of tasks was drawn between the uninitiated and more secular—albeit popular—painters of Kanō and the initiated sacral painters with access to secret doctrines (CHIDA 1994, 85). The Kanō had the advantage of freedom of artistic expression together with the freedom to present their paintings to a wider audience without restrictions, but the circumstances for the Kimura with their sacrosanct mission were different.

An acknowledgment of Ryōtaku's work by Tenkai lists the subjects of paintings in the *nainaijin* of Nikkō. Regarding the relevance of these paintings to Tenkai's relationship with the Kimura, the first subject is of particular interest: "sacred *jinpi* figures, transmissions" (*sho shin jinpi zu sōden* 諸神深秘図相伝) (UDAKA and NAKAGAWA 2014, 418). The term *jinpi* is customarily used to describe the hidden, deep teachings in a doctrine that can be understood only by the initiated, and this interpretation can be directly translated into our context of the production of sacral materiality: exclusive knowledge inaccessible without proper initiation. It is also not restricted to Tendai, but a Buddhist term applicable to the doctrinal discourse and interpretations in general (KAMEYAMA 2007). The term

“transmissions” refers to the transmission of *jinpi*, a privilege and, simultaneously, a sign of authority to execute *jinpi* orders. Needless to say, the paintings of the innermost sanctuary were only accessible to a very limited number of elites.

*The Beginnings of the Kanda as the
Sacrosanct Atelier of the Tokugawa and the Icon of Tōshō Daigongen*

The name Kanda Sōtei first appears in the often-cited source, the *Tōeizan nikki*, in an entry for 1632:

Buddhist painter Kanda Sōtei Munenobu 神田宗庭宗信 (1590–1662), common name Kichizaemon 吉左衛門. A resident of Osaka, Settsu Province, in the Keichō era (1596–1615), he was commissioned with an official order when Taishi (Tenkai) accompanied Tōshōgū (Ieyasu) during the Osaka siege. He subsequently moved to Edo in the Kan'ei era (1624–1644), settling in Kodanmachō 小伝馬町. Ordained by Taishi, he was given the clerical name Sōtei and permitted to attend court and wear two swords and *noshime* 熨目 attire. In the ninth year of Kan'ei, upon the request of abbot Kakuon 覚音 of Genryūin 現龍院, he was granted the reverence of the icon of Tōshō Daigongen under the guidance of Jigen Daishi (Tenkai). To present it to the ruler, his icon was mounted in Kyoto. Having been carried back with the convoy of Kasuga no Tsubone 春日局 from Kyoto, [the deity] appeared in the dream of His Highness the Taiyūin 大猷院 (Iemitsu) that night, and thus he cared to view the venerated icon and accepted it, and for this Munenobu was remunerated with ten *ryō* 兩 of gold.

(*Tōeizan nikki*, 61–62)

According to this excerpt, Tenkai had commissioned the first-generation Kanda Sōtei Munenobu with a painting already in Osaka, which was obviously well received. It is highly likely that Kanda Sōtei subsequently moved to Edo in response to a summons, where Tenkai personally ordained him. As he was granted the rank of *bushi* 武士 (warrior) it is likely that he also began to use the name Fujiwara from this time onwards, a signature often found on official Sōtei paintings. The mention of Taiyūin, the name of Iemitsu's mausoleum, points to the date of the manuscript as later than the circumstances it describes. Although historians remain rightfully skeptical about sources retrospectively presenting circumstances in a rather dramatic manner (NAKAGAWA 2002, 90), three aspects nevertheless remain valuable: first, the permission that Munenobu received to study the icon (*miei* 御影)—that is, the iconography of Tōshō Daigongen—under Tenkai's guidance in 1632; second, the introduction of his work into the vicinity of the shogun by Kasuga no Tsubone; and, third, the endorsement of his work by the shogun.

The establishment of the icon of the deity Tōshō Daigongen and the regulation of iconography presented in the portrait was a matter of great importance to Tenkai

and the Tokugawa. The new icon embodied the sacral legitimization of Tokugawa rule and thus required a new, fixed, and memorable iconography. The one that subsequently evolved may be separated into (1) the official, government-sanctioned iconography, and (2) unregulated imagery.¹¹ Most of the known icons belonging to the first category were painted by either the Kimura or Kanda. Although some were painted by the Kanō, an increasing number of paintings formerly attributed to the Kanō are now being attributed to one of the two *jinpi* painters. The portraits generally known as “dream portraits” (*reimuzō* 霊夢像) need to be excluded, as they were painted for Iemitsu privately by the Kanō. While the painting mentioned in the excerpt from *Tōeizan nikki* is no longer available, it is nevertheless highly likely that Munenobu followed the official iconography. By proving his mastery of the classical sacral style and rendering the portrait in a decorative manner with rather static grandeur, he established himself as part of the rise of a new icon and its contextualization into the existing sacral pantheon.

The orthodox iconography imposed on the *jinpi* painters allowed for very few modifications and shows Ieyasu in semi-profile seated on a decorative tatami (*ungenberi* 纒縹縁) pedestal with auspicious clouds, guarded by lion-dogs (*komainu* 狛犬), and framed by a baldachin (*tenmaku* 天幕) above. This iconography is shown in the scroll with inscription by Kanda Sōtei Sadanobu 貞信 (1765–1800) referring to a restoration in the collection of Saikōin 西光院 in Saitama (FIGURE 1). These images were distributed to vassals and affiliated Tendai temples. The *jinpi* artist was given a directive, which imposed the exact opposite of free artistic creativity or an innovative combination of styles. He was expected to strictly comply with this directive, to faithfully reproduce the iconography, and stylistically follow an orthodox, classicist ideal of sacral imagery. The agents used in his exercise of power were, on the one hand, intentionally chosen for their function and, on the other, strictly bound by the religious scheme set up by Tenkai. Tenkai further attempted to restrict the interpretative possibilities of the icon by adding his own doctrinal endorsements, usually on the top section where traditionally the praises (*gasan* 画賛) are placed.

The Characteristics and Scale of the Kanda Atelier

Kanda Sōtei was not included in the detailed construction and restoration record of Nikkō Tōshōgū (KITANO et al. 2015, 37). Still, Nikkō Rinnōji houses a Jūniten 十二天 painting signed Edokoro Kanda Sōtei 絵所神田宗庭 dated to 1636,

11. The unregulated imagery of Tōshō Daigongen was part of a broader tradition of the dissemination of this deity and its images to the general public, which followed the process of inviting deities to desired locations (*kanjō* 勧請). The unregulated nature of this expansion resulted in diversions of the iconography. These images are distinct from the icons in question and are beyond the scope of this article. For examples of these types, see SAITO (2008, 8–10).



FIGURE 1. Tōshō Daigongen. Inscription by Kanda Sōtei Sadanobu (1765–1800). Edo period. Ink, colors, and gold on silk with painted mount. Saikōin, Saitama Prefecture. © Saikōin.

which is the oldest known Kanda Sōtei painting. Notwithstanding the icon order in 1632 mentioned in the *Tōeizan nikki*, it is likely that the studio's career truly took off a few years later in the mid-1630s with the construction boom at Nikkō (NAKAGAWA 2002, 90).

From no later than this time, the Kanda was the atelier of Kan'eiji, and remained so right up until the end of the Edo period. This claim is corroborated by the *Koga bikō*, and backed up by a more or less continuous lineage, as demonstrated by the genealogy discussed in the research of ITÔ Hiroyuki (2012a; 2012b) and KAWAI Masatomo (2012, 81). Judging from records on the other *jinpi* atelier, the Kanda would have consisted of more than one lead painter and several assistants. Ōnishi Yoshio reconstructed the restoration team of the Kimura

TABLE 1. Genealogy of the of the master painters Kanda Sōtei.

1.	Kanda Sōtei	Munenobu 宗信	1590–1662
2.	Kanda Sōtei	Munefusa 宗房	d. 1702
3.	Kanda Sōtei	Yoshinobu 善信	1656–1728
4.	Kanda Sōtei	Korenobu 伊信	1687–1765
5.	Kanda Sōtei	Hidenobu 栄信	d. 1773
6.	Kanda Sōtei	Mitsunobu 満信	d. 1779
7.	Kanda Sōtei	Sadanobu 貞信	1765–1800
8.	Kanda Sōtei	Takanobu 隆信	1794–1844
9.	Kanda Sōtei	Mochinobu 要信	1825–1874
10.	Kanda Sōtei	Yoshinobu 慶信	1838–1887
11.	Kanda Sōtei	Akinobu 晃信	d.u.

atelier appointed to Nikkō from several expenditure records dating from 1688 to 1704; at one time, only three painters of highest skill worked on an important assignment, another time it was a team of fifty, and on yet another occasion there were thirty-four painters (ŌNISHI 1975, 178–182). The mention of more than one highly skilled painter is notable, and the organization of the group was apparently flexible. It would be reasonable to presume a similar scale for the Kanda based on three key aspects: (1) the same credentials of the hereditary privilege to *jinpi* icons and their iconography—the employment of whose artists also involved a higher payment (SAITŌ 2008, 2); (2) a comparable relationship with Tenkai; and (3) extant works as well as records that underline the continuity of the atelier's lineage and its continued engagement in icon production throughout the Edo period.

As an example of a painting in the classical Japanese style (*yamato e* 大和絵), KAWAI (2012, 83) points out the broad range of styles executed by Kanda Sōtei Yoshinobu 善信 III (1656–1728), including the secular work *Kinki shoga zu* 琴棋書画図, the four arts of the Chinese scholar—drawing on the Kanō style, including their Chinese influence, and the *Kumagaya Inari engi emaki* 熊谷稲荷縁起絵巻. FUJIMOTO Yūji (2013, 61–62) lists various formats such as templates for stone carvings: for example, a Fukuchi Roku Jizō Bosatsu 福智六地藏菩薩 signed by Motonobu at Sesonji 世尊寺 in Tokyo, or a sculpture of Kangiten 歡喜天 with the signature of Kanda Sōtei on the *zushi* 厨子 (portable altar). All these varieties, in style as well as format, testify to the broad range of Kanda activities. The variation also signifies that *jinpi* artists were not restricted to producing sacrosanct



FIGURE 2a. Nitten. Kanda Sôtei Yoshinobu (1656–1728). Edo period. Ink, colors, and gold on silk. Inv. no. B_28029. © Linden Museum Stuttgart. Photo: Anatol Dreyer.



FIGURE 2b. Detail.

icons, but rather enjoyed the exclusive right. This is also apparent from their signatures, where one finds everything from a simple “atelier Kanda Sôtei” to the inclusion of the artist’s full name such as Kanda Sôtei Fujiwara Yoshinobu. The Nitten 日天 (FIGURES 2a and 2b) at the Linden Museum, for example, is signed “a painting drawn by the Sôtei” (*on edokoro Sôtei ga* 御繪所宗庭画), and bears the official seal of Fujiwara Yoshinobu (Sôtei III), which leaves little doubt of it being an official Kanda work. Another notable aspect of this scroll is that it clearly depicts a Nitten, even though it has the annotation Dainichi Nyorai written in ink on the reverse.¹²

12. This inscription on the verso of the scroll coincides with mention of a Sôtei painting in the *Koga bikô* of a Dainichi Nyorai from a shop in Edo. The conventional iconography of Dainichi Nyorai, however, includes neither the lotus nor a three-legged bird in a sun disc, which corresponds to the iconography of Nitten. The question arises whether the scroll in the shop was labeled “Dainichi Nyorai” just like the scroll in the Linden Museum, or if the Linden scroll might in fact be the very scroll mentioned in *Koga bikô* (FUJIMOTO 2013, 37).



FIGURE 3. Inari Daimyōjin. Kanda Sōtei Yoshinobu (1656–1728). Edo period. Ink, colors, and gold on silk. Sensōji Collection, Tokyo. © Sensōji.

The style that characterized the painting of the Kanda atelier was rich in detail, with abundant use of gold paint (*kindei* 金泥). The identified scrolls in particular, such as the Nitten scroll mentioned above or examples in Japanese collections such as the Tokyo National Museum and the Kinryūsan Sensōji Temple Collection (FIGURE 3), all bear the hallmarks of steady brushstrokes and exceptional attention to detail with emphasis on a central, frontal composition using a high degree of symmetry.¹³ An increasing tendency toward stylization can be witnessed in the latter half of the Edo period. The painted brocade mounting

13. The scrolls held at Tokyo National Museum, *Genten Jōteizō* 玄天上帝像 object no. A-1447 (image no. Co096911) and the *Taima mandara zu* 当麻曼荼羅図 object no. A-12440 (image no. E0055707), are both accessible on the museum's website.

(*kaki byōsō* 描表具) is also a known feature of Kanda that increased the impression of lavishness. As KAWAI (2012) and FUJIMOTO (2013, 39) repeatedly suggest, the work of the Kanda largely focused on the continuation of the orthodox style and iconography. There are numerous examples, such as the *Ryōtaishi honji butszū* 両大師本地仏像 by Kanda Sōtei Sadanobu VII (1765–1800) at Kan'ei-ji, which adopts the details of the scroll *Shaka sanzon zu* 釈迦三尊図 in the Seichōji 清澄寺 collection in Hyōgo by the painter Ryōzen 良全 (d.u.).

Kanda Sōtei's Icons as Tools of Cultural Memory

The official nature of the icons by Kanda Sōtei enshrined in the main mausolea or distributed directly to important temples and vassals first required production by officially credited artists, who second were initiated into the sanctioned iconography. Third, a doctrinal endorsement was added by Tenkai himself, which served as authoritative confirmation of the validity of the image as well as religious stipulation. Tenkai was almost singlehandedly responsible for all inscriptions on official icons produced during his lifetime, which were of a highly doctrinal nature. As the architect of a new authority, both in terms of sociopolitical power and moral-religious leadership, Tenkai sought to establish the Tokugawa, paying special attention to the creation of places and icons that would become symbols of their identity and references to their memory.

SAITŌ Natsuki (2008, 18–28) establishes five types of doctrinal inscriptions. An in-depth study of each would reveal much about the mechanism of doctrinal control of faith. These inscriptions exhorted the viewer to abide by them and regulated possibilities for reinterpretation. Embedding these written endorsements in the visual representation of the deity worked as an anchor for the newly created faith. It was a step that went beyond the establishment of a new deity, or even a new iconography, and reveals the attempt to establish this icon and the understanding of it for the long term by the creation of symbolic values, or, to use a term coined by art historian Erwin Panofsky, a structuring of iconology.

Erwin Panofsky established the term “iconology” to designate the last of three steps, or levels of an analysis, which deals with the symbolic content of visual material and cultural phenomena. This is a process that in historical research, including art history, is normally traced backwards, identifying the first level of general subject, then the second level of iconography, and ultimately the iconology or the symbolic value of an image for the culture in question. As he states, in this final level, the researcher

seeks to view the painting as a document... of a certain religious attitude, [thereby] interprets its compositional and iconographic features as the more specific evidence of this “something else.” The discovery and interpretation of

these “symbolic” values ... is the object of what... can [be] called “iconology” as opposed to “iconography.” (PANOFSKY 1995, 30–31)

The iconology mentioned here corresponds to the content of cultural memory, content that is generally understood as a subconscious framework that determines the actions and thoughts of individuals in a particular culture and the interpretation thereof. Since our object of investigation is also a religious painting as in Panofsky’s quote, his concept of iconology is of service to understand the mechanism implemented by Tenkai: not only did he create a new topic of worship (and subject of representation), he was also aware of the importance of an officially sanctioned iconography and of written doctrinal explanations—one of the stable vessels of collective memory—as the carrier of fixed values. Within this agenda, he established, or at least greatly expanded, the post of special artists to emphasize the distinctive character of the new deity.

The idea of symbolic value as representing collective, social, or cultural memory has been discussed by a number of scholars in various disciplines. It has been philosophically thematized by Ernst CASSIRER (1953), identified within cultural studies by Aby WARBURG (2018, 605–650), employed in social studies by HALBWACHS (1992), and implemented in cultural studies by Jan ASSMANN (2002).¹⁴ Judith Butler has also recently phrased it eloquently in gender studies as the “societal norm that already acts on” every individual since birth (BUTLER and SALIH 2004, 341).

Creating societal norms and consolidating authority certainly has more variations than linking it to a rigid visuality of the past, yet religion plays a special role in this regard. Halbwachs analyzes this issue as follows: “Religious memory, ... does not preserve the past, but reconstructs it with the help of material traces, rites, texts, and traditions that it has left behind” (HALBWACHS 1985, 296). As religion seeks to “isolate its values from the secular society,” it commonly chooses to create the impression of overcoming time, thus “positioning itself outside the flow of secular time” (HALBWACHS 1985, 259). Ōkawa Makoto summarizes deification itself, especially in the case of Ieyasu and similar rulers in the Edo period as a “control of social ‘life’ by creating a hypothetical collective memory around the phenomenon of death through the act of deification, without any real religious interest in death itself” (ŌKAWA 2017, 7). This core idea about the deification of a ruler as controller of life and societal norms even after death closes the circle and concerns the instrumentalization of sacral art as tools of cultural memory. The main purpose of the sacred images here is to be anchored outside the flow of time or to act as a conduit for an authority unaffected by time. Hence,

14. Building on Cassirer’s ideas, Raji STEINECK (2014; 2017) applies and further develops the theory of symbolic forms in relation to Japanese cultural history. His pertinent work is essential for a Japan-related study of this topic.

Kanda Sôtei must be defined as a producer of ritual tools that served to create an image of the past that was in line with the social conceptions of the time as enforced by the new ruling power, conditioning the religious and moral norm.

The enforcement of norms was directly related to the atelier's supposedly "uninventive" style. The atelier had the advantage of access to traditional paintings through the authority of Kan'ei, which was essential for a classical school. The reason for their classicism, which led to their being labeled as simply outdated by the late Edo period and most certainly in modern times, lies with their role in Tenkai's strategy for the deification of Ieyasu. They were tied to the political agenda of connecting the sacral imagery of the Tokugawa to the classical grandeur of past court paintings, which makes classicism not merely their hallmark but their mission. Their increasing stylization must be seen as an inevitable byproduct of a function that required the fulfillment of set standards. We must evaluate the evidence of their nonetheless broad spectrum of production against this background.

Accounted Works by Kanda Sôtei

The limited number of extant works from the latter generations of Sôtei does not reflect the productive start and the long stretch of eleven generations. The reason for this is first found in the financial strain put on the shogunate and second in the devastating losses Kan'ei suffered in the Battle of Ueno in 1868. In the case of the Kimura, much of their transmitted paintings, records, and drawings were likewise destroyed in World War II (ÔNISHI 1975, 157).

There are nevertheless two lists of extant Kanda works that can be consulted here to evaluate their activity. The first is based on meticulous research by Itô Hiroyuki (2012a; 2012b) of the Taitô City Educational Department.¹⁵ The second by FUJIMOTO (2013, 72–73), with a focus on verified Sôtei scrolls, excludes attributed works, adds new discoveries, and omits one lost work. Sôtei as a singular individual is not our concern, and attributed works can be reassigned, as the Tōshō Daigongen icon case demonstrates. But, Fujimoto's criterion of omitting lost works has been maintained when merging the two lists (see TABLE 2), in which I have included the icon attributed to Kanda (SAITÔ 2008, 8–10) as well as new objects that were brought to my attention during this research. These amount to a total of fifty-six extant Kanda works. Thirty-six of these paintings can be tied to a specific generation. Twenty-four of them belong to Sôtei VIII and IX, thus dating to the nineteenth century. The reason for this imbalance may lie in the *jinpi* nature of the atelier, suggesting that adding the personal name was inappropriate earlier on (KAWAI 2012, 82). In this case, a good proportion of the non-specified

15. I would like to express my gratitude Itô Hiroyuki for his continued support of my research on Kanda.

TABLE 2 (below and opposite). List of currently known works by the atelier of Kanda Sōtei (summer 2020). * The new additions are marked with a star in the list.

NO.	TITLE	DATE	PAINTER	COLLECTION	SCHOOL
1	<i>Jūniten</i> 十二天	1636	I. Munenobu 宗信 (unclear)	Nikkō Rinnōji	Tendai
2	<i>Kinki shoga zu</i> 琴棋書画図	1697	III. Yoshinobu 善信	Gokokuji, Tokyo	Shingon
3	<i>Inari Daimyōjin</i> 稻荷大明神	1698	III. Yoshinobu 善信	Kinryūzan Sensōji	Tendai
4	<i>Kumagaya Inari engi emaki</i> 熊谷稻荷縁起絵巻	1707	III. Yoshinobu 善信	Kinryūzan Sensōji	Tendai
5	<i>Nyoirin Kannon</i> 如意輪観音	1710	III. Yoshinobu 善信	Kinryūzan Sensōji	Tendai
6	<i>Butsu nehan</i> 仏涅槃	1711-15	III. Yoshinobu 善信	Kinryūzan Sensōji	Tendai
7	<i>Taizōkai mandara</i> 胎藏界曼荼羅	1717	III. Yoshinobu 善信 or IV. Korenobu 伊信	Kaneiji Shuzen'in	Tendai
8	<i>Jūniten</i>	1762	IV. Korenobu 伊信	Saishōji, Tokyo	Tendai
9	<i>Jie Daishi</i> 慈恵大師	18th c.	IV. Korenobu 伊信 or VII. Sadanobu 貞信	Banshōji, Nagoya	Soto
10	<i>Daihi darani genjō</i> 大悲陀羅尼現像	18th c.	VI. Mitsunobu 満信	Waseda Univer- sity Library	
11	<i>Shaka tanjō hensō</i> 釈尊誕生変相	18th c.	VII. Sadanobu 貞信	Hōzenji, Tokyo	Jodo
12	<i>Nyoirin Kannon</i>	1781	VII. Sadanobu 貞信 (unclear)	Kaneiji	Tendai
13	<i>Monju Bosatsu</i> 文殊菩薩	1781	VII. Sadanobu 貞信 (unclear)	Kaneiji	Tendai
14	<i>Ontabisho sannō mandara</i> 御旅所山王曼荼羅	1813	VIII. Takanobu 隆信 (unclear)	Nikkō Rinnōji	Tendai
15	<i>Ryōkai mandara</i> 両界曼荼羅	1823	VIII. Takanobu 隆信	Sōjiji, Tokyo	Shingon
16	<i>Butsu nehan</i>	1826	VIII. Takanobu 隆信	Shinpōji, Kanagawa	Jodo
17	<i>Chigo Monju</i> 稚児文殊	1836	VIII. Takanobu 隆信	Kaneiji Gokokuin	Tendai
18	<i>Sannō Gongen</i> 山王権現	1837	VIII. Takanobu 隆信	Kinryūzan Sensōji	Tendai
19	<i>Amida sanson</i> 阿弥陀三尊	1839	VIII. Takanobu 隆信	Kinryūzan Sensōji	Tendai
20	<i>Tenjin</i> 天神	19th c.	VIII. Takanobu 隆信	private	
21	<i>Shaka sanson</i> 釈迦三尊	19th c.	VIII. Takanobu 隆信	Saishōji, Tokyo	Tendai
22	<i>Genten Jōtei</i> 玄天上帝	19th c.	VIII. Takanobu 隆信	Tokyo National Museum	
23	<i>Sho kishin</i> 諸鬼神	1851	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Nikkō Rinnōji	Tendai
24	<i>Jie Daishi</i>	1852	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Konzōji, Kanagawa	Tendai
25	<i>Jizō Bosatsu</i> 地藏菩薩	1852	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Nikkō Rinnōji	Tendai
26	<i>Sannō nijūissha</i> 山王二十一社	1860	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Kaneiji Honga- kuin	Tendai
27	<i>Konjiki Yōsan Daimyōjin hi</i> 金色養贄大明神碑	1864	IX. Mochinobu 要信 or X. Yoshinobu 慶信	Myōonji, Tokyo	Nichiren
28	<i>Sannō shichisha</i> 山王七社	19th c.	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Kaneiji Ryūsen'in	Tendai
29	<i>Matarashin</i> 摩多羅神	19th c.	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Kaneiji Honga- kuin	Tendai
30	<i>Daikokuten Makakaraten</i> 大黒天摩訶迦羅天	19th c.	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Nikkō Rinnōji	Tendai

NO.	TITLE	DATE	PAINTER	COLLECTION	SCHOOL
31	<i>Daijizaiten</i> 大自在天	19th c.	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Boston Museum of Fine Art	
32	<i>Nikkō Sansho Gongen</i> 日光三所権現	19th c.	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Kaneiji Ichijōin	Tendai
33	<i>Kanzeon Bosatsu sanjusanshin mandara</i> 觀世音菩薩三十三身曼荼羅	19th c.	IX. Mochinobu 要信	Hiratsuka City Museum	
34	<i>Rokkaku nisō sharitō (tobirae)</i> 六角二層舍利塔 (扉絵)	19th c.	IX. Mochinobu 要信	private	
35	<i>Anchin mandara</i> 安鎮曼荼羅	unspecified		Kunōzan Tōshōgū	Tendai
36	<i>Chishin</i> 地神	unspecified		Kunōzan Tōshōgū	Tendai
37	<i>Sanbōkōjin</i> 三宝荒神	unspecified		Kunōzan Tōshōgū	Tendai
38	<i>Yamagoe Amida</i> 山越阿弥陀	unspecified		Saishōji, Tokyo	Tendai
39	<i>Fukuchi Roku Jizō Bosatsu sekito</i> 福智六地藏菩薩石塔	unspecified		Sesonji Tokyo	Tendai
40	<i>Kangiten</i> 歓喜天 (polychromy)	unspecified		Kinryūzan Sensōji	Tendai
41	<i>Nitten</i> 日天	1656 - 1728	III. Yoshinobu 善信 seal	Linden Museum Stuttgart	
42	<i>Shaka nehan</i> 釈迦涅槃	unspecified		Nikkō Rinnōji	Tendai
43	<i>Chishin</i>	unspecified		Nikkō Rinnōji	Tendai
44	<i>Ryōkai shiki mandara</i> 両界敷曼荼羅	unspecified		Nikkō Rinnōji	Tendai
45	<i>Dengyō Daishi</i> 伝教大師	17th c.	I. Munenobu 宗信 attribution	Kaneiji Gokokuin	Tendai
46	<i>Jie Daishi</i>	1689	possibly instructed by II. Munefusa 宗房	Kaneiji	Tendai
47	<i>Ganzan Daishi, Daimichi Nyorai, Aizen Myōō sanson</i> 元三大師・大日如来・愛染明王三尊	1715	Inscription: “descendant Norifusa”	British Museum	
48	<i>Hokke mandara</i> 法華曼荼羅	18th c.		Kaneiji Gokokuin	Tendai
49	<i>Jūniten</i>	18th c.		Kaneiji	Tendai
50	<i>Anchin mandara</i>	19th c.		Kaneiji Gokokuin	Tendai
51	<i>Tōshō Gongen</i> 東照権現	19th c.	IX. Mochinobu 要信 attributed	Kaneiji Ichijōin	Tendai
52	<i>Senju Kannon</i> 千手観音	unspecified		Jōjuji, Tokyo	Tendai
53	<i>Tōshō Gongen</i>	unspecified		Daikōji, Gunma	Tendai
54	<i>Tōshō Gongen</i>	unspecified		private	
55	<i>Taima mandara</i> 当麻曼荼羅*	1836	VIII. Takanobu 隆信	Tokyo National Museum	
56	<i>Takeda Shingen</i> 武田信玄*	19th c.	IX. Mochinobu 要信	British Museum	

scrolls may prove to be by earlier generations. Eleven of the total of fifty-six images are currently part of a secular collection. From the remaining forty-five, a surprising thirty-nine objects are still held at temples that belonged to the Tendai school during Tenkai's lifetime. Of the remaining six, several have a close link to the Tokugawa. Even within this limited number of extant Kanda works, three elements are clearly detectable: Tendai as established by Tenkai in the seventeenth century, the Tokugawa lineage, and the distribution in the Kanto region.

Detailed Introduction of Newly Discovered hakubyō zuzō Drawings at the Ethnographic Museum, University of Zurich

Further evidence for the activity of the Kanda atelier may be drawn from a collection of *hakubyō zuzō* drawings that was part of the 2016 donation of the Spinner Collection to the Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich (hereafter VMZ).¹⁶ These objects were possibly saved from destruction by fire when Kan'eiji was burned down in the late nineteenth century and subsequently purchased by the Swiss missionary Wilfrid Spinner (1854–1918). Along with other religious icons, the VMZ drawings were collected by Spinner and his disciple Minami Hajime 三並良 (1865–1940) in Japan between 1885 and 1891. However, their origins remain unknown due to a lack of written records.¹⁷ I refer to this collection as the Auchli group after the name of the donor, Christian Auchli.

The drawings in the Auchli group contribute to our understanding of how the works of the Kanda served as a conduit of their iconography and style to the realm of popular religious imagery from the late seventeenth century onward, thus having a significant impact on the religious materiality of the later Edo period. A survey of European collections has already brought to light more Kanda works, such as two drawings in the Corfu Museum of Asian Art, at least one more scroll in the Linden Museum Stuttgart, one additional Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 portrait at the British Museum (FIGURE 4), and the aforementioned Spinner Collection in Zurich.¹⁸ This suggests a wide distribution of drawings and

16. I discovered the collection at the VMZ as part of the research project JBAE, a collaboration between the Department of Japanese Studies of the University of Zurich and the Hosei University Research Center for International Japanese Studies. I would like to express my gratitude to all parties concerned and especially to Mareile Flitsch, director of the VMZ, for her support.

17. Detailed research of the collection strategies of Wilfrid Spinner, whose collection contains the bulk of the new discoveries of Kanda drawings, is being prepared for publication.

18. The Kanda paintings held at Corfu National Museum of Asian Art are a part of the Manos Collection. See “Fudō Myōō with attendants” (No. KM5094–6167) and “Niso jōnin” 二祖上人 (No. KM5091–6164). A portrait entitled “Tenkai” bearing a seal with the name Matsubara 松原 that is a part of the E. Baelz Collection at the Linden Museum should be reassessed for its link to the Kanda atelier. The same name appears on one of the rougher VMZ drawings of Aizen Myōō, which may suggest a painter with this name who was part of the Kanda atelier.



FIGURE 4. Takeda Shingen. Kanda Sōtei Mochinobu (1825–1874). Edo period. Ink, colors, and gold on silk with painted mount. British Museum © The Trustees of the British Museum.

paintings by the Kanda atelier in Europe. An analysis of the Auchli group provides evidence that these objects belong to the output of the Kanda atelier. In this section I reflect on the consequences this discovery has for evaluating the significance of their works in terms of cultural history.¹⁹

Two *hakubyō* in the group, one depicting the face of a Jizō Bosatsu (Inv. no. 32453, FIGURE 5) and the second a seated Shaka Nyorai (Inv. no. 32452), bear a small seal with the name of Kanda. These seals suggest that some of the drawings, or perhaps the entire group, belong to the atelier of Kanda. The small squared red-on-white seal found in the center of FIGURE 6 differs greatly from the official seal script white-on-red versions found on completed paintings, such

19. Regarding the U.S., one scroll of Daijizaiten by Kanda Sōtei Mochinobu is housed at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Bigelow Collection, and can be viewed online under the accession number 11.7128 (collections.mfa.org/objects/26181).



FIGURE 5. Jizō Bosatsu. Seal: Kanda Sōtei. Edo period. Ink and colors on paper. © Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich. Inv. no. 32453. Photo: Kathrin Leuenberger.



FIGURE 6. Comparison of three seals (detail). L to R: *Daihi darani genjō*. Inv. no. *bunko* 06 02235, © Waseda University Library; Shaka Nyorai. Inv. no. 32452, © Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich. Photo: Kathrin Leuenberger; Takeda Shingen, see FIGURE 4.

as the one to the right in FIGURE 8a. It supplies only the atelier name in standard script. The only *hakubyō* on the list of extant works, the drawing *Daihi darani genjō* 大悲陀羅尼現像 in the Waseda University Library, bears the same seal (FIGURE 6, left). FUJIMOTO Yūji (2013) links this volume to the sixth generation Sōtei Mitsunobu (d. 1779), because his signature appears after the introduction. While this is correct, the seal itself does not mention Mitsunobu or any specific generation. It rather suggests a quotidian use by all Kanda masters for unofficial works, suitable for drawings that carry out the function of transmission, which is the definition of a *hakubyō*.

The newly discovered *hakubyō* with seal are both rendered in ink with fine colored details, such as the facial features of Jizō in FIGURE 5. These characteristics speak to a skilled level of line-drawn iconographic images: balanced proportions with attention to detail, the uninterrupted outline of the figure, and steady brushstrokes, which testify to a greater pursuit of completeness. In both cases, the style is very similar to the Kanda style explained above and close to the outlines of icons in Japanese medieval paintings.²⁰ The seals were randomly placed on both drawings, which points to their purpose as internal study material as is the case with the drawings in the Waseda Library Collection.

On the whole, the level of skill within the Auchli group varies; while some drawings are of excellent quality, there are many of a rougher kind regardless of the size. Several drawings have red lines that overlap the black ink drawing, indicating a process of correction or schooling of the trainees, as well as added descriptions and color indications. These features reinforce the Auchli group's character as internal study material, rarely exposed to an external audience.

Several drawings with additional descriptions and color indications, such as the Jizō with seal; an Ishanaten 伊舎那天 (Inv. no. 32431) with a seal that possibly reads “Hikone shozō” 彦根所藏,²¹ which is also seen on the reverse of the drawing of Nichiren Shōnin (see FIGURE 8b); the Fudō Myōō 不動明王 at the Corfu Museum of Asian Art; a Daiitoku 大徳; Kongōyasha Myōō 金剛夜叉明王 (Inv. no. 32625, verso); and the Rasetsuten 羅刹天 (Inv. no. 32486), among others, are of a higher stylistic quality as evident from their finer details and technical accomplishment. These drawings all have similar characteristics and probably originated from the same artist or from artists trained in the same techniques. They are works of skilled artists of the upper ranks, which served as models for the trainees or as preliminary drawings related to specific orders.

20. An example of such an icon is the thirteenth-century *Yamagoe Amida zu* 山越阿弥陀図 held at the Kyoto National Museum. Examples of *hakubyō* that are hitherto named as historically significant, such as those found in the *Besson zakki* or the *Kakuzenshō*, likewise primarily date to the late Heian or Kamakura period. For a definition of *hakubyō zuzō*, see SAWA (1982, 31–64).

21. I would like to thank Emi Chizuko of the Tokyo National Museum for assisting with the reading of this seal.



FIGURE 7. Shussan Shaka (detail). Artist unknown. Possibly late Edo period. Ink on paper. © Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich. Inv. no. 32617. Photo: Kathrin Leuenberger.

There are also drawings that employ shading, resulting in a completely different style than the standard *hakubyō* with little or no shading. This technique was applied on rock pedestals and the realistic nuances of body contours, thus imparting a three-dimensional quality. Examples are drawings of Shussan Shaka 出山釈迦 (part of inv. no. 32617, FIGURE 7), Kōbō Daishi Kūkai 弘法大師空海 (Inv. no. 32407), and a Fudō Myōō triad entitled Naritasan 成田山 (Inv. no. 32620) referring to the temple Naritasan Shinshōji 成田山新勝寺 central to the Fudō cult. Furthermore, one small drawing of Nichiren Shōnin 日蓮上人, founder of the Nichiren school, bearing the signature and seal of Tan'yū Morinobu 探幽守信 (Kanō Tan'yū; inv. no. 32411, FIGURES 8a and 8b), indicates a closer collaboration between the court painters Kanō and the Kanda atelier if authenticated. These drawings serve as further evidence that the Auchli *hakubyō* group derived from an atelier that was close to the government (TOCHIGI KENRITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1994, 103).



FIGURE 8a. Nichiren Shōnin. Signed Tan'yū with seal of Morinobu, possibly Kanō Tan'yū Morinobu (1602–1674). Ink and colors on paper. Possibly mid-Edo period. © Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich. Inv. no. 32411. Photo: Kathrin Leuenberger.



FIGURE 8b, verso.

*The Expansion of the Kanda Atelier
Based on a Subject Analysis of the Spinner Collection*

In addition to the seals and style, analysis of the subject, iconography, and written information on the drawings supports the attribution of the other drawings in the Auchli group to the Kanda atelier. The connection to Tendai and the Tokugawa is of primary importance regarding the subjects of the drawings. Several *hakubyō* show clear parallels with Tendai themes, most importantly the group of Tendai patriarchal portraits such as Tendai Daishi Chigi 天台大師智顗, Dengyō Daishi Saichō 伝教大師最澄, and Jie Daishi Ryōgen 慈恵大師良源 (Inv. no. 32470, FIGURE 9). Allusion to the Tokugawa is represented by drawings of the official icon of Tōshō Daigongen (Inv. no. 32392, FIGURE 10) of which there are several in the Auchli group. These two groups both show strong iconographical similarities to the imagery circulated in the Tendai school, that is, the official *jinpi* iconography of Tōshō Daigongen and the iconography of patriarchal portraits, the most obvious example being the portrait of Ganzan Daishi 元三大師 (a popular title of Jie Daishi Ryōgen) depicting him with a similarly sacral iconography to that of Tōshō Daigongen. Thus, the clearly identifiable Tendai content accounts for twenty-two objects altogether. But, more icons not listed here should be considered as potentially Tendai due to their doctrinal significance,



FIGURE 9. Jie Daishi Ryōgen. Artist unknown. Possibly Edo period. Ink on paper. © Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich. Inv. no. 32470. Photo: Kathrin Leuenberger.

such as a partial drawing of the Jūroku Zenshin 十六善神 (Inv. no. 32442, held by VMZ) and several devas such as the aforementioned Ishanaten.

Comments written on the drawings provide a third basis for identification. Some comments mention temple names that reveal historical links to Tendai or the Tokugawa: for example, a portrait of Tendai Daishi with a remark that it was “requested” (*ju* 需) and the temple name Hankōji 飯高寺 on the back (Inv. no. 32424, FIGURE 11). The remark illustrates the process of creating a template for a specific order by naming the client. Hankōji was the first doctrinal academy (*danrin* 檀林) of the Nichiren school in Kanto established in 1573 and a prestigious temple



FIGURE 10. Tōshō Daigongen. Artist unknown. Possibly Edo period. Ink on paper. © Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich. Inv. no. 32392. Photo: Kathrin Leuenberger.

that counted Ieyasu among its patrons, making it a sensible candidate to order a patriarchal icon with classical iconography from the Kanda atelier. A smaller ink painting of Myōken Bosatsu 妙見菩薩 of Hokutosan Myōkenji 北斗山妙見寺 (Inv. no. 32535) is linked to the Tokugawa in a similar fashion, as Ieyasu bestowed the name Myōkenji on the temple in 1592. The Bosatsu-type iconography of Myōken, the deified image of the North Star, simultaneously indicates a connection to Tendai Onjōji 園城寺, whose doctrine had established Kannon Bosatsu as the *honji* 本地 (source) of Myōken since the medieval period.

In addition to Tendai, the Pure Land school is a well-represented candidate in the collection. An unfinished depiction with the title *Kaizan honjishin Jizō Dai-bosatsu* 開山本地身地藏大菩薩 (Inv. no. 32598) indicates a link to Zōjōji 増上寺 or its subordinate temples. The title points to Yūten Shōnin 祐天上人 (1637–1718), who was posthumously awarded the rank of thirty-sixth abbot of Zōjōji, served as the founding abbot of Yūtenji, and was additionally regarded as an avatar of Jizō Bosatsu with this very title. Zōjōji was the second of the principal clan temples



FIGURE 11. Tendai Daishi. Artist unknown. Possibly Edo period. Ink on paper. © Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich. Inv. no. 32424. Photo: Kathrin Leuenberger.

of the Tokugawa, which makes access to the services of the Kan'eiji atelier of Kanda quite probable. There are two other clearly identifiable Pure Land subjects. The first is a complete *hakubyō* depicting the dream encounter of Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), the Japanese Pure Land school founder, with his Chinese counterpart Shandao 善導 (613–681), called the *Niso taimen* 二祖対面 (Inv. no. 32426, held by VMZ). The second is an individual portrait of Hōnen.

Several *hakubyō* come with temple names that have no Tendai or Tokugawa affiliation. The Marishiten 摩利支天 of Honpōji in Kyoto (Inv. no. 32435) presents the Marishiten triad in Chinese armor. Its presence in this collection and the clear comparability of style and execution, in this case with the high-end type, suggests the possibility of a commission to the Kanda from a non-Tendai temple in the Kansai region. In the group of other patriarchal and clerical portraits that are clearly non-Tendai, there is a commemorative portrait of Zen masters (*chinzō* 頂相) accompanied by the title Komagome Kichijōji 駒込吉祥寺, which establishes it as belonging to the Sōtō school. Other schools referenced in the collection are the Shingon and the Nichiren schools, with

the former being represented by the Kōbō Daishi portrait and a Santenson zō 三天尊像 (Inv. no. 32488) bearing the additional note that it is based on the original iconography of Kōbō Daishi. Several depictions of the Fudō Myōō at Naritasan should also be counted among the Shingon subjects. Examples of the latter are plentiful, such as the Hokke mandala (Inv. no. 32386), the lesser known guardian deities of Mt. Minobu 身延, Myōtarō 妙太郎 and Hōtarō 法太郎 (Inv. no. 32581), portraits of Nichiren as a youth, and one Nakayama Kishimojin 中山鬼子母神 (Inv. no. 32465).

Keeping in mind that the separation of schools was not enforced to the degree often presumed in our time, representations of various schools within the group of *hakubyō* should not be regarded as a sign of outstanding inter-school activity but more as exemplifying the common openness that characterized the ethos of that time. The *Jiin shohatto* approached popular schools such as Nichiren with great caution, refraining from restrictive orders or even taking up patronage, which would have allowed a market for their icons to flourish (TAMAMURO 1971, 13–23). Our attention should rather be directed toward the diversity of production outside of the previously assumed interests of the government. The peculiarity of the last group is its typical arrangement of the icon and temple names, as well as the benefits granted to the devotees, which correspond to those of an *ofuda* お札 (amulet). Smaller examples with identifiable temple names are the Nose Myōken 能勢妙見 (Inv. no. 32506), the Enoshima Iwaya Hongū Benzaiten 江ノ島岩屋本宮弁財天 (Inv. no. 32565, FIGURE 12), the Myōken of Chiba mentioned above, and a Marishiten of Shimoya Tokudaiji 下谷徳大寺 on one sheet with miscellaneous drawings (Inv. no. 32404). Aside from the Chiba Myōken, which could not be verified in a direct comparison with an *ofuda* print, three of these images depict the icon in the exact identifiable iconography as their traditional *ofuda*. The question remains as to whether they were copies of existing *ofuda*, or studies for orders of new *ofuda*.

Another small *hakubyō* of a Happi Uga Benzaiten 八臂宇賀弁財天 (Inv. no. 32569) comes with the title of *inse* 印施 (“printed blessings”), which reinforces the assumption that commissions for *ofuda* were part of the Kanda atelier’s work. A similar question needs to be raised for some of the Naritasan Fudō drawings, one of which is clearly a study for the larger example (Inv. no. 32448). This is an issue that would exponentially widen the productivity range of the Kanda atelier from commissions of altar icons to quotidian amulets. The presence of *hakubyō* of Shugendo icons, such as the deity of the mountain Kiso Ontakesan 木曾御嶽山, the unspecified mountain deity Yama no kami 山ノ神, an unspecified triad of kami (Inv. no. 32433), and the deity of Mount Fuji Konohanasakuya hime 木花開耶姫 (Inv. no. 32547) point to a wider clientele and ultimately toward distribution to commoners, who constituted the greater part of devotees of beliefs such as the cult surrounding Mt. Fuji. This distribution of Kanda works to the general public



FIGURE 12. Enoshima Iwaya Hongū Benzaiten. Artist unknown. Possibly Edo period. Ink on paper. © Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich. Inv. no. 32565. Photo: Kathrin Leuenberger.

would mean a permeation of their style and iconography within the broader religious visuality of the Edo period.

Conclusion

A detailed analysis of the surviving works of Kanda Sōtei and examination of the newly discovered material suggests that Kanda held a specific mandate within the political agenda of the Tokugawa. Tenkai's construction of the doctrine as well as the representative institutions dedicated to the deified Ieyasu were all part and parcel of the building of a new state mythology. In keeping with what HALBWACHS (1985, 259) has defined as the mechanism of cultural memory in a religious context, the new ideas were arranged by incorporating elements of

TABLE 3. Chart of subject matter in the Auchli group of drawings, Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich.

NO.	CATEGORIES	TOTAL
1	Images of Tendai patriarchs (<i>Tendai kōso zurui</i> 天台高祖図類)	16
2	Tōshō Daigongen	6
3	Other patriarchs, including seven exercises of the same portrait	22
4	Nichiren school, including patriarch, main icon, temples	16
5	Shingon school, including patriarchs, devas, temples	8
6	Jōdo school, including patriarchs	3
7	<i>Nyorai</i>	15
8	Bodhisattvas including Kannon	11
9	<i>Myōō</i>	8
10	Devas	15
11	<i>Arhats</i>	3
12	Daoist influence, including Myōken Bosatsu	10
13	Kami, <i>gongen</i> (except Tōshō Daigongen), and <i>myōjin</i>	8
14	Study of details (<i>shōgon</i> 莊嚴) such as pedestals	7
15	Shugendo	5
16	Various combinations of kami and buddhas	2
17	Zenkōji 善光寺	1
18	Kōshin 庚申	1
19	Total number of objects	157

the old religion, connecting the new ruler directly to a mythological authority. The hiring and doctrinal training of new artists who were specifically ordered to deliver the materiality corresponding to this mythology deserves to be highlighted as a rare moment in history where the complete process of the creation of cultural memory becomes palpable.

This is most visible in Tenkai's attempts to restrict the interpretability of the new Tōshō Daigongen *jinpi* iconography. The historical sources in connection with the extant works of Kanda Sōtei shed light on the mechanism of an iconology that is strategically deployed to influence the development of a religious icon and its interpretation in the first half of the seventeenth century. It is important to understand that the founding of Kanda Sōtei as the sacrosanct *jinpi* court atelier of Kan'eiji involved the production of an icon newly established by Tenkai in conjunction with a new Shinto for the consolidation of Tokugawa rule. The steep rise of Kan'eiji should also be accounted for when assessing the status of Kanda

in its beginnings, together with their assignment that compelled them toward a certain iconography and classicist style. Despite holding a prestigious position, the assignment placed an artistic restraint on Kanda Sōtei and located them outside the dynamics of general society in a sphere that demanded timelessness. The consistent use of the classicist style by successive generations of Kanda Sōtei needs to be understood in this light. It is in itself an aspect of ideological regulation, creating the impression that materiality as well as society is stable and unaffected by change. This aspect points to the possibility of understanding the religious materiality of the Edo period, especially the often-criticized monotony in sacral art, on an entirely different level.

The main task of the Kanda atelier remained the production of religious icons, as evidenced by many of the extant scrolls, including the *hakubyō* at Waseda. Yet the connection to popular icons, which would instantly translate into increased production, meant entering new territory, something that would not have been necessary for an affluent bakufu painter. The reason for the Kanda atelier to take this step could lie in a change of financial circumstances toward the end of the seventeenth century. As early as the 1680s, letters by the Kimura clearly show hard bargaining in the battle for commissions, to the extent of waiving their salary and explicitly obstructing the “other atelier,” which most likely was the Kanda (ŌNISHI 1975, 174–175). The government itself diverted the cost of repair at Nikkō Tōshōgū to other feudal domains. This new and general financial austerity was to a great extent triggered by Iemitsu’s large-scale reconstruction of Nikkō Tōshōgū and the subsequent exhaustion of mines, such as the silver mines of Ikuno 生野 and Iwami 岩美, resulting in an economic bottleneck for bakufu contractors. The signs that the Kanda accepted commissions from outside their initial radius of patronage, as evidenced by the new Auchli group of *hakubyō*, should be understood as part of an independent, post-Tenkai development. Popular icons such as Enoshima Benzaiten, an unspecific mountain deity, Shugendo deities, or, most significantly, the icon of the Fujikō 富士講 point to the Kanda coming in contact with popular religious culture. If the financial strain encouraged the Kanda atelier toward a broader production, it certainly opened a conduit between a government atelier, or a part of it, and one of the most common domains of religious materiality in the Edo period, the *ofuda*. This constitutes a traceable exchange between official, orthodox imagery production and quotidian religious imagery that have so far been treated as separate spheres. The Kanda thereby would have brought their classicist mode of visual expression into the realm of popular religious materiality. A continued investigation of the Auchli group in comparison with extant Kanda works across the world, as well as Edo-period *ofuda*, would be of immense benefit for the greater understanding of religious materiality and the spread of religious imagery in the Edo period.

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